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/The 619 category has been used to include all material on distinct Timbira tribes other than the Ramokamekra which is the principal source for most of the author's observations./

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writes "Krãnye" instead of "Krẽyé," though the name has nothing to do with kra (head) or kra (tribe), but is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot), a word Snethlage himself records in his lists as "krenrã" and "krenãrã." He has not corrected the errors of my earlier orthography.

Tribal Names in Timbira Speech

The Timbira know that they are the several tribes of a major ethnic unit, which they define above all—apart from the greater or lesser linguistic homogeneity—by the presence of the hair furrow, earplugs, circular form of settlement, and log racing. Whenever I told them about some strange people they invariably questioned me as to the occurrence of these traits in order to determine whether I was speaking of congeners or aliens.

All non-Timbira were presumably once put into the category of kupẽ, a term now restricted to Neobraziliana, but formerly extended to Indians also, as appears from its application to the legendary foreign tribes of old.

So far as they are acquainted with one another, all the fifteen tribes listed above treat one another as members of one people, while this does not hold for their attitude toward the Guajajára, Tembé, Urubú, Gamella tribes, Karayá, and Akwẽ. When asked for a term to cover the totality of their own ethnic unit, the Indians are perplexed and finally either fail to answer or furnish one of the following three appellations: mehĩ (mehe, mehẽ); tayé (tayẽ′, tãyĩ′); and mekra.

Of these, the first is more frequent, Fróes Abreu considering mehim and Pompeu Sobrinho mehime as the Rąmkõ′kamekra and Apą′nyekra designation for themselves, while I conceived mehĩ as that of the Timbira of Araparytíua.[28] The term further figures in my lists as follows:

Krẽyé: mẽhĩ′, body.
Pụkóbye: mehẽ, people.
Kre′pụ′mkateye: mehe, people.
Apą′nyekra: mehĩ′, Indians.[29]
Rąmkõ′kamekra: mehĩ′, people, Indians.[30]
Apinayé: pa′hi, people, Indians.

At all events the term is of quite generic significance, not restricted to the Timbira, let alone to a specific tribe of the branch, as I at first had assumed. According to my present knowledge, I incline to interpret the word as approximately signifying "person."

I committed a corresponding error in interpreting tayẽ′ as the Bacabal Krẽyé word for this tribe itself,[31] though my list registers: tãyẽ′, Indian; tãyĩ, people. Among the Kre′pụ′mkateye and Rąmkõ′kamekra I have recorded tayí, tayẽ′ for "people." Pompeu Sobrinho[32] assumes itáiê as the pronoun of the second person plural. I would at present render it as possibly equivalent to "comrade," perhaps actually as "fellow member of my people." It seems to be used mainly as a vocative.

Mekra, as already explained, signifies "people, tribe"; at least in the formation of tribal names it is applied only to Timbira groups.

All these designations occur solely among the Eastern Timbira. The Apinayé, who are thoroughly imbued with the sense of kinship with the remainder of the branch, gave me for the Timbira people in its totality the word mãkraya, which

[28] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 101. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 81. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras.
[29] Snethlage has: mamhim, people; panjin, Indians.
[30] Vokabular und Sagen, 630.
[31] *Op. cit.*, 24.

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they otherwise use for the Krîkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krîkatí.[a] Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwįwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awâ," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

1. The Timbira of Araparytíua

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim," to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[b] But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[c] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[d] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatina; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

[a] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[c] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[d] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

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accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karinĕ"'s band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytíua.

During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxį'd corresponds to the Rąmkõ'kamekra kõkrį't.[*] It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra

These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[*]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[*] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

[*] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

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In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Cę'kamekra.

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[28] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára

The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre' pų'mkateye and Pųkôbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pihą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Piocamecrans, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.[29] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[30]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

[28] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

[29] Casal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Sonno.

[30] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza."

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among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[a] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: "During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region."[a]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[a] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[a] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[a] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[a] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

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north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioës settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pṵkóbye *and* Krīkatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pṵkóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krīkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krīkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apa'nyekra to harbor them, the Krīkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krīkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pṵkóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Einteilung und Verbreitung.

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[98]
619
101
131

6. *The Pụkóbye*

The Pụkóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krĩkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pụkóp or pọkóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krĩkatí, Kre'pụ'mkateye, and occasionally the Ramkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

[361]
721
175
619

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krĩkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[a]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[b] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pụkóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pụkóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

619
648
175
131
161

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[c] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[d]

[114]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krĩkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pụkóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

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[a] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[b] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[c] J. F. Coelho, 76. [d] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

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The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pụkóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krĩkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pụkóbye havé dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pụkóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krĩkatí refugees.

In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krĩkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kõtụ'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pụkóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pụkóbye words in Barra do Corda;[*] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. *The Western Gaviões*

Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[*] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the for[illegible], unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguisti[illegible]dence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneo[illegible]y places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[*] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.[*] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[*] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.[*] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

[*] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[*] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[*] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[*] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[*] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[*] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

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on the Tocantins, whose banks the Indians visited in summer in quest of tortoises and their eggs. Express statements deny that they were then in the habit of attacking civilized travelers.

The split into Eastern (Grajahú steppes) and Western Gaviões may date back to the closer intercourse with whites that set in after 1850. The section of the tribe that did not trust the peace overtures or spurned them on principle may then have retreated into the primeval forest in order to escape from civilization.

Subsequently the invasions of rubber collectors and later of the chestnut gatherers as well led to bloody encounters, whence the reputation of the Gaviões for great savagery. Especially in the little town of Marabá, the center of the rubber and chestnut traders, lying directly at the edge of the Gaviões region, at the Tacayuna confluence, people are constantly clamoring for the extermination of the tribe, justifying it with such descriptions as Simões da Silva in complete innocence presented to the Americanists' Congress in New York.[a]

In reality the Gaviões are by no means the bloodthirsty, predatory beasts portrayed by the pathological hatred of profit-greedy chestnut traders. Again and again they have tried—even after bloody punitive expeditions—to live at peace with the Neobrazilians on the Tocantins. But every manifestation of amiability was immediately followed by an invasion of the interior, which soon led to the killing of this or that intruder. Then there was a terrific hue and cry about "treachery," the incident was cited to prove the impossibility of peace with the Gaviões, and the Government was urged to shoot them down so as to throw open "the fabulous wealth" of their region "in the interest of the state." And the former government of the state of Pará, the very one that erected a monument to the Indian race in the Praça Brazil of the capital, actually took such measures some years ago.

The easily intelligible desire of the Gaviões is simply to live in peace with the Neobrazilians, without being crowded out of their villages.

In 1895 these Indians made a treaty of peace with Raymundo Liart at Bocca do Tauiry, somewhat below Marabá, and three of them visited Pará.[a] About 1912 they were in peaceable relations with Manoel da Matta in the same locality. For a number of years they have been maintaining friendly relations with a certain José Messias in Mãe Maria, somewhat below the mouth of the Araguaya, and permit him to exploit the stands of chestnut trees there. Basing their expectations on these amicable relations, which depend solely on that man's individuality, the chestnut gatherers have formed a whole village in that locality, and are constantly advancing in spite of José Messias' attempts to control them. As a matter of fact, one of them has already had an arrow shot at him. In consequence the police commissioner of Marabá, who had a short time previously shot to pieces a village of the Šikrí Kayapó in the Tacayunas region, immediately asked the state government for additional firearms and ammunition so as to be able to extend the same tactics to the Gaviões. However, the punitive expedition never encountered any Indians—presumably because its leader was the above-mentioned José Messias, who did not in the least approve of the maneuver contemplated.

In 1937 the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios established a post with federal troops farther downstream, at the Ipixuna confluence, and according to the last reports the Gaviões have put in a peaceable appearance there.

Obviously since the destruction or expulsion of the Jacundá the Gaviões have

[a] Simões da Silva, 747–750.
[a] Moura, De Belém a S. João, 200, 223–236.

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619 721 constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

619 131 361 However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Frič's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

114 101 619 I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tueumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehĩ.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

619 197 171 Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

619 177 The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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619 179 is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

8. The Kre'pų'mkateye

619 101 This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Rąmkō'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krą' pų'mkateye or Kreapų'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pų'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Rąmkō'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

619 175 The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karēkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pų'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[a] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[b] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

[721] During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in [115] 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

619 161 The 1919 census of the Serviço do Proteeção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pų'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

619 131 177 In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

197 Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krīkatí and Pųkôbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

9. The Krahō'

619 101 This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." [b] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

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Martius gives as synonyms: Grajahús, Guajajáras, and Pepuxis.[a] However, Grajahú is the name of a river, not of a tribe; it is derived from karayá (howling monkey) and ỉ (water). Guajajára designates the well-known Tupí tribe, never known to have lived even near the Krahõ'. As for Pepuxi, that term will be discussed presently.

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The Akwẽ-Seréntе, their southern neighbors, call the Krahõ' by the name Worazúrié (small alien people). Ribeiro at first speaks of them only as Caraús or Carâous[b] and wonders why "a certain person" (he means Pinto de Magalhães, the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara) had called them Maquemecrans. But later he himself invariably used the form Macamecrans, saying that on the Tocantins they were known as Pepuxis and Tamemboz. However, his earliest paper reckons the Pepuxis and Caraús as distinct tribes of the Tocantins, while elsewhere he cites the Timbira Caraoús as a branch of the Pepuxis.

Ignoring the term Macamecrans for the present, we shall devote ourselves to clearing up the confusion concerning the terms Tamembó and Pepuxi. The first chronicler (1812) who mentions the Capepuxis and Temimbós, but not the Krahõ' is Silva e Souza.[c] He places the indolent and predatory Capepuxis in two villages "do Araguaya" (meaning "do Tocantins"), assigning to the peaceable Temimbós five villages near Pastos Bons. His Capepuxi are thus probably identical with the Krahõ'. His Temimbo must designate the Amanayé, though they occupied a single village, one legua from Pastos Bons, where they numbered in 1815 some 20 souls. Cazal, too, equates Temembó and Manajó.[d]

As indicated, Ribeiro, otherwise highly reliable, is full of contradictions on this point. His contemporary, Pohl, who himself visited the Krahõ', registers Timembó as a synonym for Krahõ', while he identifies the Iricoache, an otherwise unrecorded people living near the Põrekamekra, with the Capepuxi.[e]

In 1824 Cunha Mattos mentions the Pepuxy or Temembó as on the left bank of the Tocantins below São Pedro de Alcantara, adding the Krahõ' as a distinct tribe. Elsewhere he states that the Puxiti (Timbira pụčẽ'ti = Šavánte), Petuxi (?), Pepuxi, or Temembó were living from the Manoel Alves to the Caxoeira das Tres Barras and were of the same tribe as the Macamecrans (= Krahõ'), but immediately thereafter he lists this last group as a separate tribe.[f]

Rivet, and after him, Snethlage, not only adopted Cazal's identification of the Temembó with the Tupí Manajó (= Amanayé), but went so far as to further identify them with the Timbira Aponegicran (= Apạ'nyekra) and to list the Krahõ' separately. The identity of the Temembó with the Krahõ'—as assumed by Ribeiro Magalhães, and Pohl—rests, above all, on the fact that the former name occurs only in the reports of 1812–24, that is, precisely during the period in which the Krahõ' appeared on the Tocantins, spreading along both banks in the very region those older sources ascribe to the Temembó. Against this evidence Cunha Mattos' listing of Temembó and Krahõ' as separate tribes does not weigh heavily, for this author listed the Apinayé as three distinct tribes under as many synonyms.

On the contrary, the identity of the Pepuxi (or Capepuxi, in Silva e Souza's and Pohl's spelling) with the Krahõ' seems highly dubious. Cunha Mattos' Puxiti, recorded as a synonym along with Petuxi and Pepuxi, indicates the name Pụ-čẽ'-ti

[a] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:286.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 68, 70–74; Roteiro, 62, Notas K, S, U; Descripção, §§ 55, 59, 69.
[c] Silva e Souza, Memoria, 495, 496.
[d] Cazal, Chorographia, 2:265.
[e] Pohl, Reise, 2:191, 211.
[f] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:385; 38:20.

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(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Knpẽpụ̃ẽ̃′ (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the Krahõ′, Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ′ were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ′ must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ′ begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.[1]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ′ until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[2] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ′ mistress. In any case the Krahõ′ henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ′, but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the Krahõ′ girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[3] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ′ chief Apúicrît, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[1] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2:137.
[3] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara."

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After Magalhães' death the Krahô′ constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[48] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50′, and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahô′, attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahô′ sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô′ on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[49] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô′ had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[50] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahô′ territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40′. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô′ settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô′ farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[51] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Šavánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahô′ permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[52] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[53] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô′ owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahô′ chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tą'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahô′ village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[48] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[49] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[50] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[51] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:334.
[52] Tuggia, 122.
[53] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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115 In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the
101 Serviço de Protecção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegicran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

115 What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his
171 people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity
114 carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

619 I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio
131 Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a
177 northern and a southern.

The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

619 The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra
131 Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel
621 Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

619 In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye
162 villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

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In comparison with the Rąmkõ'kamekra the Krahõ' appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

10. The Põrekamekra

According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the Krahõ' the remnants of the Põrekamekra merged with the Mąkamekra horde of the Krahõ' over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Põrekamekra and Pųkóbye.[a] The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary Rąmkõ'kamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupẽyaró, from kupẽ (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Põrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupí and explains the name as Cupynuaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,[b] but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,[c] the tribe was existing "even today" (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro's identification of the Kupẽyaró and the Põrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Põrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the Krahõ' attackers of the Põrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Põrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwẽ-Šavánte. During Magalhães' subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira's bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Placido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Põrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães' return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Põrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years' stay than Pohl could have been after a three days' visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Põrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pųkóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira's offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrît, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

[a] Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.
[b] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.
[c] Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

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chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the Krahõ', while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable "Poncatagé" (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied Krahõ'. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrit, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader's share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (!)."

The tribal name is not derived from "pure," burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro's orthography would suggest, but according to what the Krahõ' explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison."

Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pụkõbye and Krahõ', the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé.

11–13. The Canella

Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apạ'nyekra and Rạmkõ'kamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the Krahõ' or the Čạ'kamekra.

In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capie-Crans (= Rạmkõ'-kamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apạ'nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day." On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrãn = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrãn; (c) Sacamekrãn = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrãn; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrãn; (g) Aponyekrãn; (h) Kénkateye."

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrãn are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrãn, or rather Apạ'nyekra, but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrãn, Korumekrãn, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrãn were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Hakạpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he "proves" by their allegedly excessive

[114] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:386.
[115] Martius, Beiträge, vol. 2.
[116] *Ibid.*, 1:285.
[117] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 141.

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salting of food even at the present day! He assigns to the Canella four villages near Grajahú, viz. Dois Braços—an old Guajajára colony somewhat above Barra do Corda; Jacaré (unknown to me, but certainly not a Canella village); Ponto (actually Canella, but seventy-eight kilometers south of Barra do Corda); and Mocura (a former Cę'kamekra settlement southeast of Barra do Corda). However, this author asserts, contrary to the facts at any period, that Canella groups reside in and around Barra do Corda, alongside of Craméro (?) and Crarros Indians (Krahõ', fifty kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda). His other statements likewise are most inaccurate and refer, as Snethlage correctly recognized, to tribes outside the Gê stock. Ignace's history of the Capiekran is a greatly abbreviated and disfigured summary of Ribeiro, and the vocabulary he obtained from Canella Indians visiting Bahia in 1902 includes a considerable number of words not belonging to their speech.

Similarly we must correct the statements of Pompeu Sobrinho concerning the habitat of the Canella.[66] These neither resided at the Balsas headwaters until a few years ago, nor are they at present situated in the missions of Barra do Corda. Their villages never lay on the left bank of the Rio Corda, but invariably east of this river. Of the five names he cites as borne by the principal Canella settlements, Capim = Porquinhos, and Soledade = Travessia. Both the Timbira of the Gurupy and the forest-dwelling Krẽyé of Bacabal call the Canella by the name Krĩkatí, and the Pụkóbye by the name Põkatie (those of the steppes [põ]). Ribeiro, too, mentions the Poncatgê in connection with the Põrekamekra. To the Akwẽ-Šerénte the Canella tribes are known as Worazúzauré (large alien tribe) in contrast to the Worazuríe (Krahõ').

Ribeiro was the first writer to apply the term Canellas finas; he applied it to the Capiecrans (our Rąmkõ'kamekra) and expressly admits ignorance of the etymology of this name: "nome do qual ignoramos a etymologia."[67] Others, however, were not backward in giving interpretations. Martius translates the name as "thin feet," declaring that the Corumeerans achieved the desired slenderness for their lower legs by means of tight cotton bands adopted in youth.[68] Saint-Adolphe has it that the discoverers of the Timbira dubbed them "Canellas finas" because of the thinness of their legs and bodies; while Kissenberth translates the name as "Indians with thin shinbones."[69] Finally, Snethlage declares that the thin calves of the Krãn tribes had always aroused attention, whence the Capiekrãn were designated as "Canellas finas."

To be sure, canella signifies "shinbone" and "calf" to boot, for which vulgar Portuguese lacks a separate term; it is also true that fino means "thin, fine, delicate." These facts, however, were naturally known to Ribeiro as well as to others of Portuguese speech; if he preferred to leave the rendering open, it was because his undoubtedly accurate knowledge of Capiecran had taught him to reject the common interpretation of the phrase. Certainly it would be remarkable if the very people who from childhood on ardently practice running and log racing as their national sport were to be distinguished from other tribes by the delicacy of their calves. A glance at their photographs suffices to dispel this interpretation.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose

[66] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 4, 8.
[67] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 45.
[68] "Ihre Unterschenkel sind mit Querbändern von gefärbter Baumwolle geziert, deren straffes Anziehen von Jugend auf sie als Mittel betrachten, die gewünschte Schlankheit zu erlangen." Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:822. Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[69] Saint-Adolphe, Diecionario, "Timbiras." Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47.

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Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.[98] In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apą'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 619 175 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.[99]

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[100] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkóbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[101] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.[102]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[98] Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.
[99] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.
[100] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[101] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).
[102] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

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(piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the "Ponecra" as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Cą'kamekra)." In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with Krahô', which had come on a visit to Caxias." His orthography of the tribal name, "Aponegierans," proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro's spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius' word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the "Sch" symbol is due to the occasional merging of the "y" sound into "x" or "ž" among the Apą'nyekra (as well as Krahô').

In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a Rąmkô'kamekrere, that is, Rąmkô'kamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apą'nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noleto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be Rąmkô'kamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

The Apą'nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tributary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the Rąmkô'kamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pųkóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present village. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the Rąmkô'kamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the Krahô' and Pųkóbye have always been better.

The census of 1919 estimates the Apą'nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

13. The Rąmkô'kamekra.—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apą'nyekra occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers."

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kô, water) in turn gets its name from the almecega trees (rąm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its banks. Thus, the word as a whole designates "the tribe on the almecega water."

[97] Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.
[98] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:820. Beiträge, 2:149.
[99] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 464. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 167.

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To the Apąˊnyekra, Krahôˊ and Pụkôbye they are known as Kọˊikra, Kọirumekra (eastern tribe, from kọˊi east, kọˊirum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;[28] yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50′, where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čąˊkamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apąˊnyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čąˊkamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempẽˊ, marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čąˊkamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[29] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čąˊkamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempẽˊ and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

Rąmkôˊkamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempẽˊ, whose

[28] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.
[29] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

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name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempẽ''s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Aleanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[32] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkõ'kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kõkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kõkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropką', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegieran-Apą'nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakõkamekrere, actually Apą'nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkõ'kamekran).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkõ'kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čą'kamekra

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkõ'kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čą'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[32] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

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619 101 but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[200] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.[201]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrän," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorä" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkõ'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

619 175 648 In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

619 175 721 [114] The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[202]

619 175 167 [173] The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

[200] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[201] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.
[202] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

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sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karēkateye.—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[166] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[167]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[168] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

The Krõ'rekamekra.—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[169] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10′; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[170] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[166] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[167] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[168] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indica."
[169] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[170] Martius, Beiträge, 2:284. Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

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619 101 *The Nyurukwayé.*—The literature records such synonyms as Norocoagê, Norogagê, Noraguagé, Noraquagê, Unuruguajé.[111] The name is derived from the Timbira word for dwelling: Apinayé nyurukwá, Eastern Timbira nyõkwa, yũkwá. However, the Eastern Timbira also use the Apinayé designation for the tribe in question, which lived on the west side of the Tocantins, south of the Apinayé, though Pohl erroneously puts them among the tribes of the east side.

619 175 Pinto de Magalhães places them among the tribes between the Tocantins and the Araguaya, from São Pedro de Alcantara to the confluence of these rivers. He reports how *more suo* he had tried to make friends with them by aiding the Krahõ' in a raid against the Norocagês and sending back to their own people two of the three women that were made captives. This seems to have occurred in 1810 or a little later.

According to Ribeiro this tribe was enslaved and dispersed at the same time as the Canaquetgês, that is, in 1815. However, it evidently maintained its existence for some time thereafter, since Cunha Mattos reports an attack in 1824 by Inhajurupé-Chavante and Noraguagés on the Šerénte aldea Graciosa, which he had founded somewhat below the present Porto Nacional. He regarded the Noraguagés as of the same origin as the Šerénte and describes them as a tribe of insignificant size, though his figure of 200 warriors would correspond to a total of 800 to 1000 souls. They were said to reside west of the Temembó or Pepuxi (=Krahõ' ? Šavánte ?) in the region of the Estreito, 6° 30'.

In 1844 Castelnau once more cites the tribe as one of the five Šerénte subtribes[112]—unquestionably an error, for the Šerénte constitute a single tribal unit. Since then the Nyurukwayé no longer appear in the sources. The Krahõ' of today recognize the name, but disclaim any further knowledge.

The Augutgé.—Without any localization Ribeiro mentions a tribe he designates once by the above name, a second as Angetgê:

> In 1816 a bandeira lured it into its power by mendacious promises, enslaved its members, and hacked to pieces its chief when he protested against such treachery. Part of the slaves were shipped to Pará, the rest were sold to itinerant traders, who sold them off to Piauhy.

Otherwise I have no knowledge of any statements about this tribe; possibly the name is a distortion of Ahótye (= Apinayé).

619 101 *Other names.*—Various tribal names referred to the Timbira zone appear in the literature without definite localization, so that it is not worth while to discuss them in detail.[113]

Chacameeran, Xocameeran, and Jocameeran presumably refer to the Čạ'kamekrạ. Others (such as Manacobgê, Caturecategê, Capacatagê [= Capetigi ?], Sapiceran, and Tucategê) I am unable to interpret. They may or may not have been Timbira tribes, for we must recollect that the Tupí Amanayé, too, bear a tribal name ending in -ye, -gê.

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[111] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Norogagês." Ribeiro, Memoria, § 83; Roteiro, 37, 46. Pohl Reise, 2:682. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:357; 38:21, 78. Almeida, Carolina, 51. Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."

[112] Castelnau, Histoire, 1:352.

[113] Martius, Beiträge, 1:284. Pohl, Reise, 2:182. Almeida, Carolina, 53. Marques, Apontamentos "Santa Thereza," "Tocantins." Casal, Chorographia, 2:293.

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpõ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[108] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karēkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[108] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.

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574 among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had
648 his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During
609 the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated
around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word
[537] of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

648 In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara
438 feathers required for the ketũaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãčą'.

648 In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto.
574 The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f.

574 The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are
609 not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a
577 transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[556]

Law

421 *Property.*—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[557] among the Eastern Timbira, the land
423 belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results
619 from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pųkõbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[556] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 469.

[557] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.

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421 A particular tribe, then, owns certain rivulets and creeks with their affluents and
423 the important correlated *galeria* forests; the next creek and its adjacent area, be-
• 419 yond the watershed, belongs to the neighboring tribe. Thus the ancient boundary
101 between the Rąmkõ′kamekra and the Apą′nyekra was formed by the watershed between the large Papagaio and Porcos creeks, two affluents of the Rio Corda. The entire district drained by the Flores, a rivulet tributary to the Mearim, belonged to the Čą′kamekra. Beyond the eastern watershed of the Flores lay the land of the Hakąpó (=Gamella of Codó). Reduced by wars and epidemics, the Čą′kamekra retreated before the Neobrazilians into the extreme southern corner of their habitat; and when that, too, proved an untenable refuge, they united with the Rąmkõ′kamekra, sharing their territory on wholly equal terms.

The northern boundary of the Apą′nyekra and Rąmkõ′kamekra consisted of the wooded area of the Mearim, to which these steppe dwellers attached no importance, so that the Guajajára were able to settle there.

The Mearim divided the Čą′kamekra and Rąmkõ′kamekra on its right bank from the Krẽyé of Bacabal on the left. Originally no Timbira tribe simultaneously occupied both banks of the Tocantins; this was subsequently done by the Krahõ′, but only because of Neobrazilian pressure. Anyone may hunt, fish, gather, and make
421 a clearing at will within the tribal territory. A plot, so long as it is under cultivation,
423 belongs to the family of the woman for whom the clearing was made. Wild fruit-trees are never privately owned unless they have been deliberately spared in clearing a plot. Fellow tribesmen never quarrel over the exploitation of the tribal area. The endless land disputes among Neobraziliana, often leading to murder or manslaughter, figure as a proof of their malevolence. Snethlage reports that two prominent Rąmkõ′kamekra of mature age belonging to complementary moieties had the Indian agent in Barra do Corda smooth out difficulties over a boundary transgression.[88] I cannot conceive either how such a dispute could have arisen or how
[114] the moieties could have been involved, hence I must assume some misunderstanding on this investigator's part.

422 An object belongs to its maker or winner or to the person for whom it was produced or won. For example, a wife not merely owns the utensils manufactured by herself, but also the objects—say, sleeping mats—made for her by her husband; further, the plot and house cleared and erected by the husband or his assistants. Children become owners of the toys made for them by parents and relatives as soon as the objects are handed to them. Proprietary claims of this sort are generally acknowledged to the fullest extent, the solitary exception being the encroachments of a wife's brothers on her husband's private possessions (see p. 125).

422 Except for houses and cultivated plots, private property is markedly unstable.
425 Chattels, even the most valuable of them, such as rifles, bush-knives, axes, iron
431 pots, and arara feathers frequently pass to new owners because of the fees often
437 obligatory on individuals as well as organizations. As shown elsewhere (p. 75), an exaggerated value is attached to tame wild pigs, hence the killing of these animals that regularly recurs during certain festivals involves indemnification of the families which reared them, thus accounting for circulation of considerable property. Another, though rare, occasion for the transfer of many goods is the ceremonial exchange of precentresses when peace is concluded. At the close of the pepyé the families of the new initiates give presents to the two girl associates; in 1933 the elders expressed displeasure with the meagerness of the offerings, whereupon the first commandant of the pepyé stepped up, unbuckled his unused bush-

[88] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 168.

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bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

Ducks and Falcons.—During the entire period of seclusion these societies maintained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

Various activities.—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boulevard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial, rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population according to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community. For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Cą'kamekra, the Karẽ'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

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migrated. On the evening of June 3 the grouping was apparently tried only tentatively.

Early on the morning of June 4 the Ducks and Falcons arranged a log race. The ensuing episode really had no connection with the festival. In the presence of many onlookers the men of the kupẽ plaza group now glued falcon down on a youth of their own group whose illness had prevented participation in the last year's ketúaye initiation and painted him with urucú, all this taking place in his maternal home. The kupẽ thereupon camped at their proper station, the south-southwest corner of the plaza, whither the youth brought them a gourd bowl filled with food.

At 4:30 P.M. the men resumed the previous evening's places in the plaza according to tribal affiliation. Then, each group by itself marched in single file around the boulevard, each tribe receiving victuals from the matrilineal homes of its King Vulture members. The food was subsequently distributed and consumed in the plaza.

During this night the pepkahą'k ought to have sung together with their girls until daybreak; but the weather only permitted this activity till midnight.

On June 5 there was another sunrise log race arranged by the Ducks and the Falcons, followed by a shooting match in front of the Falcons' lodge.

In the meantime the women and girls had made for their pepkahą'k relatives new chest and neck cords (horkakačẽ') of the finest burity bast. The messengers collected these ornaments for the pepkahą'k, who dyed them and their newly made earplugs, also in part their own bodies, yellow with the sap of the urucú root. Then they put on this new decoration, but took pains to hide some coils of the finest cords in their hair, their girdle, their armpits, even gluing them to the soles of their feet. Two Clowns joined them, wearing bandoleers and girdles of the coarsest burity bast, which one of them had also wrapped around his ankles; instead of staffs they carried rough branches with foliage.

After the close of the Duck-Falcon log race the women assembled in the two houses between which the street from the seclusion hut merges into the village. There they waited while the two old directors of the festival met in the plaza and marched toward the hut of seclusion. Soon the pepkahą'k with their yellow cord ornamentation began to parade toward the village. But as they approached the houses where the women were waiting, these rushed upon them in full force and took off their cords in order to make girdles of them for themselves. But the pepkahą'k, robbed of all but their concealed cords, marched on along their external road beyond the circle of houses and, as usual, gathered food in their maternal homes. One of the two Clowns marched ahead, sweeping the road ahead with his leafy bough; his mate brought up the rear. Both got an ample share of food handed out to them from the homes of the pepkahą'k.

On June 9 the pepkahą'k once more decorated themselves in their hut with the yellow cords saved by concealment. In pairs and trios they sneaked backward into the steppe, describing a big arc around the outside of the village, and afterward reassembled toward the opposite (north) side. One of them climbed a high steppe tree near by, from which he could survey the entire village. The others hid in the grass, shielding themselves from the notice of chance passers-by, behind lopped-off branches.

As soon as the lookout saw the two directors meeting in the plaza in order to depart for the seclusion hut, he slid down the tree and reported to his comrades, who now, shielding themselves with their boughs, cautiously slunk through the grass toward the northern exit of the north-south street of the village. As soon as they

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
619 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
301 of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
361 Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
[137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
[142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
[291] frighteningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
[302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
[304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
[411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

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302 619 114

in his hands.

123 576 [177] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.